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and composers as well as performers of the songs sung on these occasions (p. 237). Garcia (14, pp. 71-72) describes the part played by the *ka'ioi* in the festivals. In a description of a great *ko'ina* that he witnessed, he says:

> Among them, there were even a number of true buffoons (saltimbanques), young men and women, more embellished still than others, and especially oiled and saffroned with a kind of yellow pigment which made of them demons as red as fire. While they performed their farces, dancing, marching and gesticulating, and while the music played its airs to the accompaniment of the prayers of the priests, all the rest of the assembly (were) seated with the air of princes on their thrones.

It will be found that the *ka'ioi* had the very definite function of acting as choruses and dancers in connection with festivals, the performance of which was both religious and for amusement. Their importance in connection with the *ko'ina tupapa'u* is particularly interesting, being indicative of the association of the generation cult with the ancestral cult. This will be brought out more clearly and discussed fully in the descriptions of festivals and chants.

The male *ka'ioi* as a whole constituted a body which was called upon for other types of service in the preparations for many festivals, and particularly in connection with the operation of tattooing. It was the *ka'ioi* who were called upon to build the special house *(oho au)* in which the son of the chief or rich man was tattooed; it was they who procured the food and fed the occupants of the *oho au*, including themselves; and in return they received free tattooing when the hands of the artists employed were not occupied with the son of the man who built the *oho au* and paid them for their labor. The fact that the different grades of *arioi* in Tahiti were distinguished by different tattoo designs makes this connection of the *ka'ioi* with the tattooing operation in the Marquesas very interesting.

One very trustworthy informant on Hiva Oa considered the term *ka'ioi* to refer particularly to youths whose fathers could not afford to pay for their tattooing and who therefore were seeking it gratis by assisting at the operations of other more fortunate youths. This informant further explained that this would mean that all a man's sons except his first born or an adopted son, who stood as first born, would be *ka'ioi*, because a man built the tattooing house only for his first born. His other sons must seek their tattooing as *ka'ioi*.

The *ka'ioi* youths served in connection with other feasts and festivals in a capacity similar to that just described at the tattooing. From among them were recruited workers to erect special houses for rites, the singers in choruses, and so on. It was in this way—as workers, dancers and singers, who bore the brunt of the labor connected with festivals—that the *ka'ioi* had a very definite function in the social order. Since it was during the seasons of plenty after harvesting that the great festivals, such

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622 292 ningly wrapped and woven, surmounted by a small tuft of curly black hair. It appears that on Nuku Hiva the *pa'e ku'a*, an oblong frontlet about fifteen inches long and nine inches broad, made of fine red and green feathers, was the headdress particularly of chiefs and chiefesses. [304] On Ua Pou and Fatu Hiva, Mrs. Handy found that one small tattoo design on the ankle was the mark of the chiefly class and was restricted to them. A conch shell belonged to the chief and served him in summoning his workers and warriors.

Family alliances

622 582 On Hiva Oa the marriage of a chief with a representative of another chiefly stock was for social and political reasons considered the most favorable. Formal betrothal and marriage were always with equals; but a chief or chiefess was allowed to marry a commoner if he or she desired to do so, and the children of such a marriage were regarded as equal in [428] rank with the chiefly father or mother, as the case might be, inheriting property and rights as though of full chiefly blood. On the other hand, on both Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva a chief was never allowed to marry out of the *papa haka-iki* or *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. In Haka he Tau on Ua Pou it was said that the first son or daughter of the chief of a tribe in that valley always married some one of another chiefly family in the same valley and, inheriting the rights of the father or mother, became in time the head of the tribe. For the younger children suitable mates were found among the children of chiefly families of other valleys. Garcia (pp. 102-103), describing the Nuku Hiva convention, says:

> It is necessary that the one chosen should be also of the royal race, for it is not permitted to great chiefs to make a misalliance. An example of what I speak of was that of the queen Paetini who received us in the first place at the bay of Taiohae and Hakapehi. . . . She was the sole inheritor of numerous districts and she had as her principal spouse the chief or king of the Oumis, distant some miles, who came to see her only for two or three months; but about her were habitually two or three other lesser chiefs, who were likewise called her spouses.

622 582 171 A striking contrast between the marriage customs of chiefs in the Marquesas and those on Tahiti and in Hawaii is furnished by the fact that children of chiefly stock who married persons of common birth were regarded in the Marquesas as legitimate and were not outcasts as in Hawaii, [847] nor killed at birth as in Tahiti. It may be truly said that there was no [848] such thing as illegitimacy and there was no infanticide. Another contrast with Hawaii is found in the fact that the *tapu* on the marriage of brothers and sisters applied as definitely and strictly in chiefly families as in others. There were no such close, consanguineous marriages as those of Hawaii to preserve the purity of chiefly blood.

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(fata'a), which was also ornamented with the sacred white and the red bark cloth, and *ata* (a kind of greenery). Exactly the same rite was enacted at this time for a boy or for a girl, and was meant to give the child strength and health *(no te menava*, for the life-breath). This rite is still performed at times in Pua Ma'u.

According to the Dordillon manuscript (9) the child's head was anointed until the tenth day after its birth. When the child could walk, it was carried to the sea shore, covered with a piece of cloth, and buried in the sand. After this, it was bathed in fresh water. The child was then given *popoi* for the first time, a little being offered at the same time to the gods.

Treatment of Infants

During its infancy, the child was bathed twice a day, morning and evening. A chief's child had a special, *tapu* bathing basin lined with cut red stone slabs, called *tai ke'etu*. Early in the morning, just about sunrise, it was customary to carry a child out and lay it in the brush so that the dew might strengthen it.

One informant said the natives believed that if a mother nursed her child, it would be hard to raise. Hence she did not nurse it, but allowed it to be taken away from her at once and fed on cold breadfruit paste and chewed shrimps. I believe that this informant must have been speaking of the purgative used immediately after birth, for native children in the Marquesas were certainly suckled by their mothers.

Mothers moulded the heads of infants by passing the hand up across the forehead, pressing the temples in, and pushing the upper region of the forehead back, so as to form a narrow temporal region and a head sloping back from the brows to a peaked apex. This appearance is distinct in many old natives today, although never very greatly exaggerated. The practice is still followed by mothers. In addition to this molding of the skull the end of the nose was pressed down and held with the fingers, in order to flatten and broaden it. The lips of the vulva of female infants were pulled and manipulated by the child's mother, in order to enlarge and open them.

During the period of infancy, elaborate precautions were taken to prevent harm from coming to the child through evil spirits and to safeguard it against being stolen by ogresses *(vehine hae)*. The people thought that sometimes *vehine hae* took the children of two mothers and exchanged them. Sickness and death of infants were believed to be caused by evil influences contracted by the child through its parents or through other relatives. For example, if a father, living in Atu Ona, had a relative who

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upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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562 852 858 881 [584] [304] Not quite so many rites were practiced in honor of first-born girls, who were betrothed in childhood. Trees were planted for them and there was a family rite in which their hands were purified for making *popoi*. The rite of piercing the ears for earrings was an important one, as was also that upon the occasion of the first menstruation. The girl was tattooed much younger than the boy, about the time of adolescence. Girls who had sufficient intellect were instructed in lore just as boys were, except that they were not taught certain chants restricted to men. In honor of the girl a festival or festivals were given at which songs composed for her were sung. And, lastly, she was honored, probably for the last time while living, at her marriage festival. If she were a tribal chiefess, there were subsequent festivals in her honor. A husband sometimes gave a feast in honor of his wife, a son in honor of his mother. At death, and afterwards, women's spirits seem to have been honored equally with men's.

The Fa'e Kaha Rite

852 858 The rites surrounding the birth of the other children were the same as those for the first-born, save the rite called *fa'e kaha* or *ahu ona* (heaping up), which was for the first-born only, never for an adopted child, and was performed after the mother had recovered. All the mother's brothers went at night to a spring in the mountains with *hue* (vessels). (At Atu Ona, according to another informant, the water was procured from a place near the sea shore, where the fresh and sea waters mingled.) When they came to the water, they recited a special chant (or spell) that had been composed for the occasion. Water from the spring was brought back in the vessels. The child was placed on the heads of the mother's brothers and the father's sisters, who leaned over with the crowns of their heads close together. While he rested there, he was bathed with the water by his grandfather. While the bathing was being performed, a ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* chanted. (What chant it was is unknown, though it was probably the *pu'e.)* A hole was then made in the thatch of the father's sleeping house just above the door, and through this the paternal uncles and maternal aunts passed the child to the parents within. Until the child had been weaned or until its special house, which will be described below, had been completed, the child must always go into and out of the house through this hole.

In the following notes regarding ceremonial practices connected with first-born sons *(tama haka-iki)* and daughters *(mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu)* from the Dordillon MS., parts of the same rite are evidently described. The child of a chief, until it had been consecrated, must never enter the dwelling house by way of the door. A hole was made in the thatch above the door

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all his property. When a man of equal wealth or power proposed to become namesake of another, it was regarded as an insult if the recipient of the proposal did not accept it. Refusal was very rare.

VARIOUS RITES OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

Piercing the Ears

When boys and girls were between the ages of six and ten years, their ears were pierced. Mr. Linton was told that the piercing of the ears of boys was done at the same time as the cutting of the foreskin. According to one informant, the rite was performed on many girls at a time in a sacred part of the dance area (probably at the same time that the rite was performed on the daughter of the tribal chief). It was necessary that the operation be performed on sacred ground because of the sacredness of blood. Another informant said that it was only when the ears of a chief's son or daughter were pierced that it was done on the tribal feast place. Other children were merely taken, without public ceremony, to some sacred place where the ears were pierced, after which there was a feast at the dwelling. According to Garcia (14, p. 66) human sacrifice was necessary at the time of the piercing of the ears of a powerful chief's child, whether boy or girl. Following the public piercing of the ears of a chief's child came the *ko'ina oka puaina* (ear piercing feast) consisting of a feast, the singing of a kind of song called *uta* (see Chants), and the dancing of the *haka pahaka* (see Dancing).

The operation was performed by a *tuhuna* skilled in the practice. He used a carved piercer made of the bone of some ancestor, or of tortoise-shell (see Ear Ornaments). On Ua Pou, the hands of the *tuhuna* who performed this operation were *tapu* for five or six days after the operation, during which time he lived at the expense of his employer.

Purifying the Hands

To consecrate the hands, so that an individual could make *popoi* for himself or herself, or others, the *ko'ina ha'ame'ie i'ima* (*ha'a*, to make; *me'ie*, clear; *ima*, hand) was performed for every child, male or female, when about ten years of age. Three or four pigs were fattened for the feast on this occasion. All the relatives of the family assembled at the father's house. The *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) all lay down, and the board on which *popoi* was pounded was placed on their bodies. Some *popoi* was then beaten up on the board, the child holding the pounder, the father aiding, holding the child's hand and guiding it. All the child's near relatives, and the *kui pakeke* (the father's female cousins, or the child's second cousins) had to partake of this *popoi*. The

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881 who could not partake of the food, though the girl and his sisters might eat.

The *tapu* of the menstrual fluid would appear to be transferred to the pig's flesh, through the medium of the sacred heads of the *pahupahu*. These relatives then ate the flesh sacramentally, thus absorbing this influence and identifying themselves with it, in order to insulate, as it were their *i'amutu* against any evil that might come through this influence.

On Nuku Hiva it was said that there were certain *tapu* places where girls in general, but particularly daughters of chiefs, were taken at the time of their first menstruation. In these places the first menstrual fluid must be left, special sacred white bark cloth being made and kept there for the girls' use. This occasion was regarded as very sacred for the girl and for the family. An informant at Taiohae said that young chiefesses from that island had to be taken to a certain place on Hiva Oa at this time. According to Père Jean (19) a chiefess on Ua Pou was *tapu* from the time of the first appearance of the menstrual flow until the fête that was celebrated in honor of this occasion and until the ceremonial priest had made the *tahe toto* (cloth to be worn at this time).

852 The terms used for the operation of cutting the foreskin of boys were
● 304 *tehe* (cut), *tehe te akau*, or *tehe akau (akau*, wood). In Nuku Hiva Movi was the god of this work (4). Skilled operators *(tuhuna tehe)* practiced incision as a profession. For their work they were paid in pigs or other forms of wealth. The operation was performed on boys between the ages of seven and twelve—that is, before puberty. Its performance does not, however, seem to have been directly connected with the time of puberty or the appearance of adolescence.

According to the manuscript of Père Pierre (4), the incision was always accomplished by means of a bamboo knife. Mr. Linton was told in Pua Ma'u that a knife of bamboo or stone was used. On the other hand I was told in the same valley that anciently a stone knife was always used. Since European contact and at the present time a steel knife or razor has taken the place of the earlier implements.

The operation was performed in a sacred place. The boy was seated on a rock, a small, flat stick was inserted in the foreskin, and the skin, drawn taut across the stick, was then cut longitudinally. The cut was then pulled apart with the fingers to assure its being clear. The stick that had been inserted in the foreskin was given to the boy and being sacred was always kept thereafter by him. The knife with which the operation was performed was usually supplied by and returned to the father of the boy. But if the father did not supply one, the *tuhuna* used one of his own. It seems probable that in the days of *tapu* the knife was always supplied

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and kept by the father. Because of the sacredness it would require through contact with the boy's virile member, it would be an object to be protected from contamination. The *tuhuna* could not touch fire until he had been purified. (This was doubtless because the virtue of the *tapu* in his hands, resulting from the operation, would have entered his food through the fire.) Pére Pierre wrote that the boy was *tapu* for three days after the operation and had to remain in his house, not being allowed to leave it. On the other hand it will be seen in the account given to Mr. Linton that it was said at Pua Ma'u that circumcised boys had to stay in a special house for one month.

After the operation the wounded member was wrapped in leaves and laid on a sun-heated beach boulder *(kiva)*. When the injured part was healed, there was a feast for the chief lad of the group who had been operated upon—that is, for the son of the man who was paying for the operation. This feast was virtually of the same kind as the celebration that followed the completion of tattooing. At this feast the boy, anointed with oil and dressed in all his finery, danced wearing his loin cloth. Mr. Linton was told that the feast was for the boys only. It is probable that usually there was merely a simple feast, but that for the son of an important chief there was a public feast. According to Père Jean (19), a certain number of youths made themselves *tapu* with the young chief who was being operated upon, not associating with women, holding themselves continent at this time. When the effects of a boy's operation had healed, he became a *ka'ioi* with these youths.

The purpose of the splitting of the foreskin, according to Père Jean, was to forward human generation. Those who had not had the operation performed were regarded with disgust by both men and women. They were called *akau pi'a (akau*, wood; *pi'a*, male organ). A woman would have nothing to do with a male if he had not had the operation performed.

Several of the early explorers describe the tying of the end of the foreskin with a cord. Krusenstern (16, p. 176) says with regard to this:

> The men [of Nuku Hiva] are not circumcised, but some of them had the foreskin cut straight down, which is said to be done with a sharp knife; and, like the inhabitants of St. Christina [Fatu Hiva], they tie the extremity with a knot. . . . . [According to a resident European] the women of Nukahiwa are quite obdurate with regard to those who do not observe this fashion.

Just what beliefs regarding the *tapu* there may have been in connection with this custom it is impossible to tell. It seems probable, however, that the practice had for its purpose merely protection.

The following excellent account of the operation of incision of the foreskin, as it was performed at Pua Ma'u, was obtained by Mr. Linton:

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●304 All the circumcisions in Pua Ma'u appear to have been performed at a single site which is located a short distance below the mortuary *me'ae* of Te oho-vevau. It does not appear to have had any special name. The site has, on the upper side, a wall or rough terrace made of single large stones, about 2½ feet high and 20 feet long. Below this there is a natural level space 15 feet wide having on its lower edge a low wall similar to that on the upper side. At the northern end of the upper wall there is a single large uncut stone on which the boys were seated during the operation. The boys were circumcised in groups at the same time as the sons of chiefs. The age varied considerably, ranging from seven to twelve years, but the operation was always performed before tattooing and apparently before puberty. The group of boys to be circumcised went to the place at the same time, accompanied by both their parents. The parents stood at the lower wall, and the boys, beginning with the chief's son, went to the stone already mentioned, one at a time. The boy to be operated upon was seated on the stone and was held by his mother's brother. The *tuhuna* then cut the foreskin with a stone or bamboo knife, making a single longitudinal slit. A stone or piece of wood was inserted under the fore skin to give a firm base on which to cut. After the slit was made the *tuhuna* pulled the skin back from the cut with his fingers so that it hung down below like a flap. The operation was performed in silence. Stones called *kiva* had been heated in the sun before the operation, and the member was placed on these to stop the bleeding. When the bleeding had stopped it was bandaged with *tapa* (bark cloth). If the member became sore and swollen during the time of healing, hot stones wrapped in leaves were applied to it.

After the operation the boys were taken to the *tohua*, where the chief gave a feast for his son. The other boys took no active part in this, but ate of the food. (Informants are not clear on this point.) After the feast all the boys, including the chief's son, were dressed in new *hami* (loin cloths) and conducted to a special house which had been previously prepared by their parents. They lived in this house for one month, their food being brought to them by their parents. There appears to have been no relation between the circumcision group and the tattooing group [of *ka'ioi*] One informant, the son of a chief, had sixty boys in his tattooing group, but only three in the circumcision group.

On a visit to Pua Ma'u subsequent to that of Mr. Linton, I obtained the following supplementary notes on the practice from the same *tuhuna tehe* who served as Mr. Linton's informant. *Tehe* was a *tapu* labor *(hana tapu)*, and was performed before adolescence. A special shelter *(oho au)* was built on a platform near the dwelling of the boy's father, and decorated with the sacred white and red bark cloth, and mountain plants, the work being performed by youths, directed by a building *tuhuna*. The *tuhuna tehe*, or inciser, used a stone knife of his own unless the boy's father supplied him with a special one. The boy was seated, with the *tuhuna* in front of him. The *tuhuna* took a stone of the kind called *vihoa* (probably *ke'a vihoa*, sharp stone), broke it, and selected a sharp-edged chip. A small, flattened piece of wood was then inserted into the foreskin, which was drawn taut; then a longitudinal slit was made in the skin on top of the stick. The member was then held on the underside, while the piece of wood was withdrawn. The slit foreskin was pulled apart to insure the separation's being complete. The piece of wood, on which the foreskin

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was cut, was always given to the boy, who preserved it. The *tuhuna tehe* took some *pu'u moina (pu'u,* fruit; *moina,* an unidentified herb or bush), and squeezed the juice from it into the wound, after which the boy was taken back to his father, who heated a small black boulder in the sun, and wrapped it in *noni* leaves. The member was laid on this and allowed to rest there until the skin became hard. There was no patron deity of *tehe* in Pua Ma'u, nor was there any prayer or chant that accompanied the operation—according to the informant. I cannot but believe that anciently there were such religious features accompanying the work.

After the wound was healed the operation was celebrated with a *ko'ina tuhi ue,* the name of which would indicate that the rite was for the purposes of exhibiting the virile member *(tuhi,* to show; *ue,* the male organ). This rite was performed at the tribal dance place (*taha ko'ina*). The boy was carried [?naked] on the dance floor *(tohua)* on the head of his maternal uncle. Feasting, chanting, and dancing followed.

Tattooing

Since the subject of tattooing *(patu tiki)* has been treated at length elsewhere,[1] only a brief summary description will be given here. Youths were tattooed between the ages of fifteen and twenty. So far as could be ascertained, the tattooing rites were only indirectly connected with adolescence and were undertaken when the tribe was not occupied in harvesting breadfruit. When a man planned to have his oldest son tattooed, he began raising pigs and growing paper mulberry for cloth some time in advance of the beginning of the work. When it was decided to have the operation performed, the youths of the community erected a special sacred house *(oho au patu tiki),* in which the work was to be done. To obtain the materials for this structure, and also food for the tattooers and themselves, they raided the place of the man who was paying for the work, demolishing all his houses except his sleeping house, and taking all the pigs and paper mulberry that he had raised. The food and material for cloth constituted payment to the *ka'ioi* for their work. During the whole time of the operation the inmates of the *tapu* house were all fed by the family of the youth for whom the work was organized. Such rites were undertaken only for first-born sons. Others had to obtain their tattooing as *ka'ioi.* The tattooing house was regarded as belonging to this boy, who was called *opou.* One or more *tuhuna* were employed to put the designs on the boy. When the *opou,* on account of sickness resulting from

[1] Handy, Willowdean C., Tattooing in the Marquesas: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bulletin 1, Honolulu, 1922.

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304 the operation, was compelled to rest and recuperate, the bodies of the youths who were assisting at the rite were tattooed gratis by the *tuhuna*. Everyone in the tattooing house was *tapu*, being restricted from any contact with outsiders, particularly with women. There were certain food restrictions for the *opou*, the object of which appears to have been to lessen the inflammation and fever resulting from the operation.

The youth was held by assistants of the *tuhuna patu tiki*, who outlined the designs with charcoal. These outlined designs the *tuhuna* himself sometimes filled in; but at other times he would leave that part of the work to his assistants or apprentices. The pigment used was made by mixing soot from the smoke of burnt candlenut kernels with water or cocoanut oil. The whole process of making the pigment, which was prepared in advance by the father of the boy, was very *tapu*. The implements of the *tuhuna* consisted of a set of small bone instruments with fine saw-teeth at one end, which were inserted in a piece of reed stem or bamboo to serve as a handle, and a small baton held in the right hand, which was used to tap the instrument. As the tattooer worked, he accompanied the rhythm of his tapping with a chant which was supposed to lessen the pain for the boy. (For examples of design see fig. 11, and Pl. 11, c.)

At the time of these rites the *ka'ioi* youths who were undergoing the operation with the *opou* always gave him a nickname which was known as the *pati'i*. These nicknames always referred to some personal peculiarity of the boy himself, or of his parents. The final completion of the tattooing was celebrated with a feast (see Festivals) at which the newly tattooed youths exhibited the beauty of their new designs.

Girls were tattooed betwen the ages of seven and twelve, in a small house erected for the purpose, the work being done simply, with less elaborate rites and without the participation of the *ka'ioi*.

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SEXES

836 The freedom between the sexes during the years immediately following adolescence has been described in detail. (See The Tribe—Ka'ioi.) Porter says (24, p. 113):

> Before marriage they [unmarried girls] are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband.

583 848 The transition from the period of *ka'ioi* freedom to permanent relationship with one of the other sex appears to have come either as a result of the birth of a child to a girl or young woman, in which case she and the child's father came together and lived as *ahana* and *vehine*, merely

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763 then returning to her expression of grief. It is merely a rite intended to convince the departed spirit of the sorrow of those left behind. The women also performed the dance called *heva*, throwing off all their clothes, leaping up and down, raising their arms in the air and fluttering their hands. The dancing appears not to have been in groups—that is to say, it was not organized—but like the wailing was done by women as they were moved to express themselves in this way. It was another conventional expression of frenzied grief for the sake of the spirit. Although these performances were histrionic, conventional, and discontinuous, expressing formal grief, it is nevertheless evident from descriptions that at these times the people worked themselves into a state of emotional frenzy. In addition to wailing
● [304] and dancing, women mutilated themselves by cutting their heads and bodies with sharks' teeth, shells, and pieces of sharp stone, so that blood ran freely. This was called *mata-hikahika*. Men did not participate in these violent acts but chanted and did the work connected with preparation of the body for burial and the funeral feast. Songs chanted by women as a part of their mourning were, according to Père Pierre, almost always erotic. On Nuku Hiva the crying for the dead was sometimes called *hai vai-mata*. It is said that people came to do this only if a feast was offered.

All who came as mourners brought gifts to the dead, apparently consisting always of tapa. This custom exists today in the presentation to the body of European goods and money. Formerly these gifts were disposed of with the body, but today they are kept by the family.

Memorial Feasts

764 765 It is difficult to give a consecutive description of the successive feasts for the dead, for the reason that these were numerous and complicated in the ancient days and very little is remembered of them today. The best notes that I have regarding these come from the manuscripts of Catholic missionaries. Feasts for the dead were called inclusively *mau tupapa'u*. According to Père Jean (19) women were excluded from such feasts. It is known, however, that women participated in some feasts; this note must, therefore refer to certain of the feasts or parts of them that immediately followed death, or else it has reference to the fact that the great feasts were given only for men's spirits.

According to Père Pierre (4) there were nine feasts in honor of the dead, all the people joining in furnishing the food. They were called: *memava hakanoho, tia hahati, vaikaukau, vaimata, haoka, menavatu, iki ha'e, tahioa*, and *kahekaika*. At all these feasts many pigs were eaten

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

war were kept by the fighters during peace time. It seems probable that this was the particular domain of the war leaders. Melville (23, pp. 101-102) gives of such a house the following description:

> In its vicinity was another remarkable edifice, built as usual upon the summit of a pi-pi, and at least two hundred feet in length, though not more than twenty in breadth. The whole front of this latter structure was completely open, and from one end to the other ran a narrow verandah, fenced in on the edge of the pi-pi with a picket of canes. Its interior presented the appearance of an immense lounging place, the entire floor being strewn with successive layers of mats, lying between parallel trunks of cocoa-nuts trees, selected for the purpose from the straightest and most symmetrical the vale afforded.
>
> On entering the house, I was surprised to see six muskets ranged against the bamboo on one side, from the barrels of which depended as many small canvas pounches, partly filled with powder. Disposed about these muskets, like the cutlasses that decorate the bulkhead of a man-of-war's cabin, were a great variety of rude spears and paddles, javelins, and war-clubs.

The following description of the warriors', or men's *tapu* house is translated from Garcia's account (14, pp. 54-56):

> Picture in the middle of each village, sometimes before the house of each chief of any note, an esplanade in the form of a parallelogram, thirty to sixty feet long by fifteen to twenty-five wide, entirely built of stones, the upper surfaces of which are smoothly laid, the whole elevated three or four feet above the surface of the ground, sometimes much more. A notched tree trunk leaning against the side serves as a ladder. On such tapu platforms, on which women are never allowed to come, are erected lengthways with the rectangle, but slightly toward the rear, leaving an open space in front, little sacred shelters open in front. The thatched roofs are often supported . . . by small, low, wood columns . . . carved in the form of images of the god, Tiki. . . . It is in this house that all the men of the village customarily come together for their prayers to the gods, and especially for meals, which appear in some way to be regarded as religious rites. . . . Before the meal, each person offers a little bit of food which is hidden in the foliage, saying, "It is for the god (*na te Atua*"). We have even seen their priest but *popoi* in the mouths of their images. . . . The feast over, the remains of the repast are hung upon the walls. . . . . There are in different parts of the apartment, little ornaments and objects made of woven reed and leaves; these are the baubles of the superstition of the inspirational priests. . . . There are often, also, suspended over head by means of little pillars, the shrines decorated with strips of cloth enclosing the bodies of deceased persons of distinction.

THE WARRIORS' DRESS

One of the main reasons for the men's tattooing was to inspire fear in the minds of enemies. This may be regarded also as the primary purpose of most of the headgear and other ornaments used by men. Tattooing, dress and ornaments were to give the fighter the appearance of ferocity, power, alertness and speed. Fighters in general wore such dress and ornaments as they were fortunate enough to possess, were it *pa'e kea, pava hina, titi owoho,* or what not. (See Personal Adornment.) The war dress of the *toa* was always highly elaborate. Their position required it

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

inserted. The juices from the flesh that dripped down into the bowl were mixed with taro leaves and eaten. It is said that sometimes a piece of meat would be kept in the hole for several months. This seems impossible unless the flesh were dried, but I have never heard of the drying. One of the chief purposes of this peculiar utensil was to serve as a protection against theft: a man coming to steal the meat would lift up the cover, look in the bowl and find it empty. The *hue po'o* was sometimes carried hung from the neck. This method of carrying it was explained as being due to the necessity of keeping off the flies with both hands.

TATTOOING FESTIVALS

At Atu Ona when the tattooing of a boy was completed and he was healed, his father announced that he would give a *ko'ina tuhi tiki* on a certain day. The lad in whose honor the feast was given was called *opou*. On the given day all the people gathered at the feast place. The chants called *pu'e* and *nato* were chanted (See Sacred Chants), two large drums (*pahu anana*) and three small ones (*tutu*) accompanying them. At this feast, all of the *ka'ioi* (see Tattooing) who had been decorated gratis in the tattooing house of the boy (*opou*) for whom the fête was given also showed off their new designs.

Another informant, at Pua Ma'u said that three fêtes were given in honor of a boy after his tattooing had been completed: the first, the *ko'ina tuhi tiki;* the second, the *ko'ina pou fau* (*pou*, post; *fau, Hibiscus tiliaceus*); and the last, the *ko'ina toe haka*. Brief descriptions of the first and third of these are given below; but concerning the second nothing is known.

According to this Pua Ma'u informant, who had himself been a *ka'ioi* in the tattooing rites, the boy for whom the tattooing had been undertaken and for whom the feast was given never danced. At his first fête, the *ko'ina tuhi tiki,* the boy showed off his new tattooing by marching around the dance place accompanied by the *ka'ioi* who had been tattooed with him. He was anointed with coconut oil, saffron, and sweet-scented juices (*huhe*). This made his skin light yellow and brilliant, causing the designs to show to great advantage. The youth wore only a tortoise-shell headdress and a loin cloth. The type of chant called *putu* was intoned in honor of the youth who had been tattooed (see Chants), being accompanied by the hand-clapping of the *ka-ioi* standing on the dance area, while two men and two women danced. Neither the *ka'ioi* nor the youth for whom the feast was given danced. At this festival the chants called *uta* and *pu'e* were also sung. (See Chants.) In Pua Ma'u valley, I was told that the *ko'ina tuhi ti'i*, or *ko'ina pati'i* (*pati'i*, nick-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 574 name given the newly tattooed), as it was also called, was celebrated also by warriors after a war.

The *ko'ina toe haka* (*toe*, female genitals; *haka*, dance), here described, was made by a wealthy man at Pua Ma'u for his son as the third celebration following the completion of his tattooing. It seems probable from the account of the dance of young girls that the object of this feast was to give the boy a chance to choose a wife.

[345] In preparation for this festival, a special house called *fa'e tukau* was built at the dance area (whether this was of the same form as the obelisk-shaped *fa'e tukau* of the high priest I do not know—See Sacred Precincts), and just before the feast day was gaily decorated inside by young girls. Prior to the feast day young men and girls were segregated, each sex living in a separate house. On the feast day the girls left their house. The men as they arrived at the feast place threw stones and spears at the house where the girls had been. They captured the house in pantomime and then chanted inside.

The girls then came on the dance area, dancing the *haka ha'a manumanu* as they approached and after arriving. In this dance, imitating [535] the motion of birds, the dancers stood with their bodies motionless while they agitated rapidly their hands and arms. They wore pleated bark cloth skirts and, attached to their fingers, *kihi* made of the long feathers of the tropic bird. (See Dress and Adornment.)

After this dance, which was done by the girls alone, there was a song, during which all of them, still standing on the dance platform, lifted their skirts (*ka'eu*) above their waists and held them in this way until the song was completed. At the end of the song they allowed the skirts to fall again into place. After this there was dancing by both men and women: the *haka koke, haka ha'a manumanu*, and *haka pahaka*. (See Dancing.) [196] It was insisted by my informant that there was no sexual freedom at this festival because it was a *ko'ina tapu* (sacred festival).

OTHER FESTIVALS

796 556 431 In *ko'ika hakahiti*, chiefs vied one with another in the attempt to outstrip each other in extravagance of entertainment. One chief would make a great feast and invite the other. The other was then under the obligation of making an equally magnificent feast. On Hiva Oa, the *ha'afiti* constituted a part of the formalities connected with the funerary feasts. *Ha'a fiti* described also the collecting of hogs to be used as offerings to the deceased ancestor.

Singing festivals in honor of men and women are described under Chants; the feasts which celebrated the return of fishermen with a good

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Mrs. Handy on Hiva Oa. Stewart gives an excellent description of this headdress. (See Descriptions of Dress by Early Writers and The Warrior's Dress).

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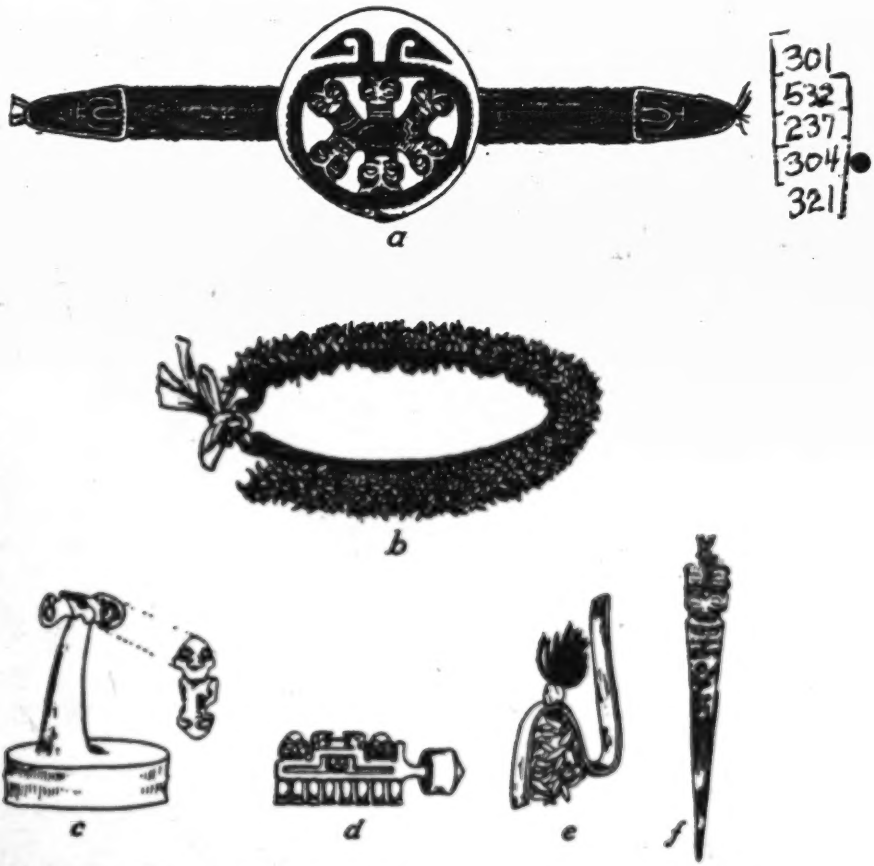

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FIGURE 23.—Ornaments for the head and ears: *a*, warrior's headpiece made of shell (*uhikana*); *b*, woman's porpoise-tooth headdress (*peue ei*); *c*, ear ornament made of whale's tooth (*kakakoi*); *d*, ear ornament carved of human bone (*taiana*); *e*, woman's tortoise shell ear ornament; *f*, carved ear-piercer.

The *uhi kana* was a large pearl-shell held in place over the forehead by a woven sennit head band. On the pearl-shell was an appliqued tortoise-shell design (fig. 23, *a*).

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A feather headdress made by binding the neck and breast feathers of a black chicken on sennit was called *tuetue*. A braid of sennit with feathers and porpoise teeth attached to it hung down on one side, lying on the wearer's breast. Just how the *tuetue* was worn and what it looked like I do not know. What Krusenstern (16, p. 157) speaks of as a helmet in the following quotation is probably the *tuetue*. "The headdress consists either of a large helmet of black cock's feathers, or of a kind of diadem."

Aigrettes consisting of tail feathers of the tropic-bird (*tu'a, pa'e tu'a*) were worn above the forehead by women—according to one informant it always consisted of twelve feathers. The *pe'a* was an aigrette of the same kind, made, however, of the tail feathers of the cock.

The most common ceremonial headdress was the *pa'e koua'ehi*, consisting of a part of a green coconut leaf, placed over the front of the head so that the fronds could be brought around the head and fastened behind. What is spoken of as the *pa'e hei pepe atua*, a priest's headdress the form of which is unknown to modern informants, is probably the same as *pa'e koua'ehi*.

The temple assistants (*taputoho*) at Pua Ma'u wore on their heads turbans (*pa'e kohito*) of dark-colored cloth made of the bark of very old paper mulberry stalks pounded roughly. The cloth is said to have been wrapped around the head and tied with a knot in the back, leaving a piece hanging down behind. The *pa'e hiapo* was a turban of the same form made of banyan bark, also used as ceremonial dress.

Dordillon gives *pona iti* as meaning a cloth or headband knotted on the forehead. Other terms referring to headbands and headcloths are *takika, nuka*, and *ioka*. The *pa'e koti'oho* was a band of white cloth worn around the head. Dordillon defines *tete poniu* as a head ornament made with seeds of a vine called *poniu*.

EAR ORNAMENTS

Ear ornaments, the general name for which was *okaoka*, were worn by both men and women. The more valuable types (*hakakai, taiana*) were among the most coveted of possessions—they were family heirlooms.

The piercing of the lobe of the ear, an operation called *oka* or *tui i te puaina*, was accomplished by means of a carved tortoise-shell or bone instrument (fig. 23, *f*). The piercing of the ears of a chief's daughter was celebrated by a great feast. (See Rites of Childhood and Youth.)

Both men and women wore *ha'akai* or *hakakai*, ear ornaments carved of whale's teeth in the form shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 23, *e*). The large end was worn in front of the ear. A band passing over the head

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

27. Trecear, Edward, The Maori race, Wanganui, N. Z., 1904.
28. U. S. Hydrographic Office, Pacific Islands pilot, vol. 2 (Eastern Groups), Washington, 1916.
29. Vincendon-Dumoulin and Desgraz, C., Iles Marquises ou Nouka-Hiva, histoire, géographie, moeurs, Paris, 1843.
30. Wilson, James, A missionary voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798 in the ship "Duff," commanded by Captain James Wilson, London, 1799.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Plate I.—The Marquesas Islands in 1921.

A. Looking west into Taha Uku, Atu Ona (Vevau), and Ta'a Oa, probably the center of original settlement on Hiva Oa.

B. Modern houses on the site of an ancient feast place at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

C. Section of a temple platform in Tai-pi valley, Nuku Hiva.

D. Retaining walls of terraced taro plantation on a hillside at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

E. Village scene at Hokatu, Ua Huka.

F. Birth-house at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

Plate II.—Marquesas Islanders of today.

A. Puhe tete Haapuani, a *tuhuna nui* who was my chief informant at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa—an example of the stocky native type. The illustration shows him standing beside the stone image of Taka-i'i at Pua Ma'u. Full blooded.

B. Te-ike Pupuni, a maker of food pounders on Ua Huka. Half Chinese.

C. Eo tafa of Ta'a Ua, Hiva Oa, showing typical tattoo body covering. Pure blooded. (The tattoo design was brought out by the use of paint.)

D. Teava'o of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, an example of the lean native type. Pure blooded.

E. Honeno of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, wearing an ancient bark-cloth *kami*. Pure blooded. He is a survivor of the times of cannibalistic warfare.

F. Tahia-ti'a-ku'e of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, who recorded from her grandfather the creation chant and other sacred chants. She wears an old *pena ei* (wreath). Pure blooded.

G. Proiho of Umo'a, Fatu Hiva, a wood carver. Pure blooded.

H. Manu-peke of Hane, Ua Huka. Half Hawaiian.

I. Tavahi-tekao of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. Pure blooded.

J. Taniha Tealu of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.

K. Tehuno of Haka he Tau, Ua Pou. Pure blooded.

L. Tahia-po'o-beana of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.

M. Penapena, chief of Haka Hau, Ua Pou. One-quarter American.

Plate III.—Tattoo designs in the Marquesas: head, arm and hand designs.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 532 PLATE IV.—TATOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS: A LEG DESIGN.

PLATE V.—THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT IN SILOS.

251 415

A. Basket for draining breadfruit.
B. *Ma* pit lined with banana leaves.
C. *Ma* pit, showing the stored *ma*, and the banana leaves projecting beyond the mouth of the hole.
D. *Ma* pit, showing tiers of *ti* leaves laid horizontally.

251 252 PLATE VI.—THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT (*continued*) AND THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A.

A. *Ma* pit, showing covering of *ti*-leaf mats.
B. *Ma* pit, showing banana leaf covering.
C. Breadfruit for making *fei kai mei pa'a*, laid in a fern-lined trough of bark.
D. The trough closed like a tube for ripening the fruit.

252 PLATE VII.—THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A (*continued*).

A. The ingredients placed in a leaf-lined hole in the ground.
B. The leaves tied to form a bag.
C. The bags containing the ingredients, tied in pairs and hung over a pole.
D. The bag-laden poles placed across the oven.

PLATE VIII.—THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A (*continued*).

A. Small fau poles laid across the logs supporting the bags.
B. A layer of coconut palm leaves on the fau poles.
C. A layer of bark covering the coconut leaves.
D. The whole oven covered with earth and embers.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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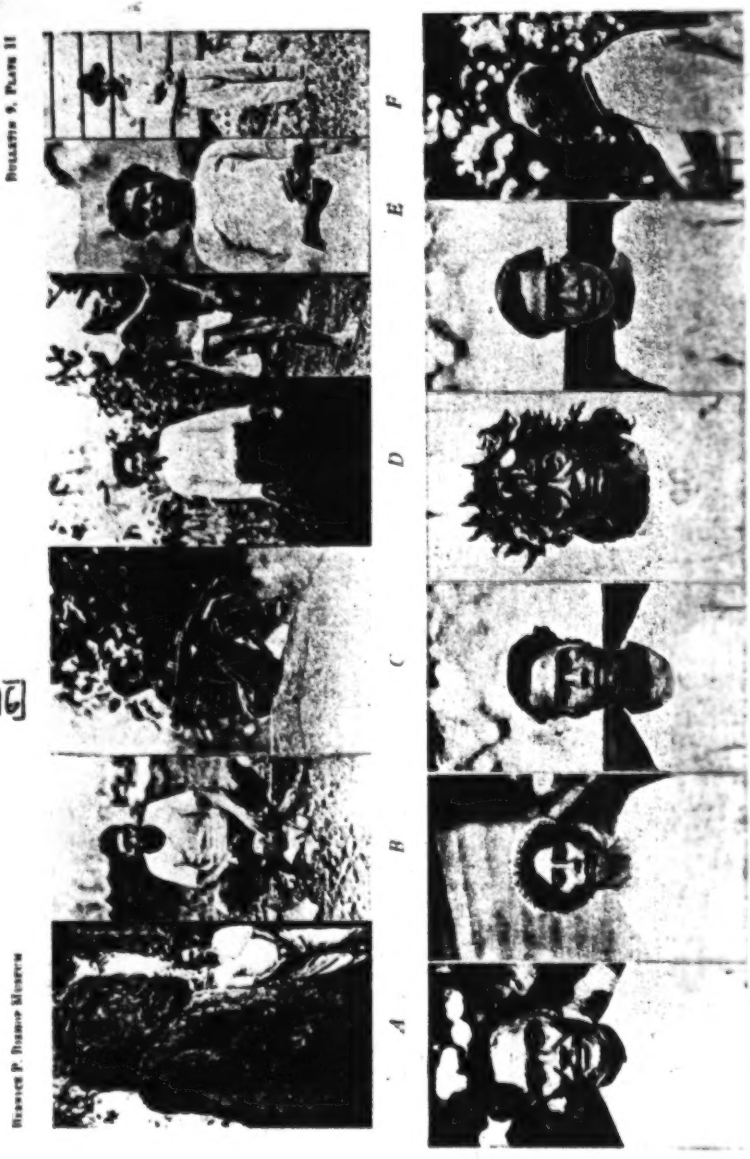

[End Plate 2]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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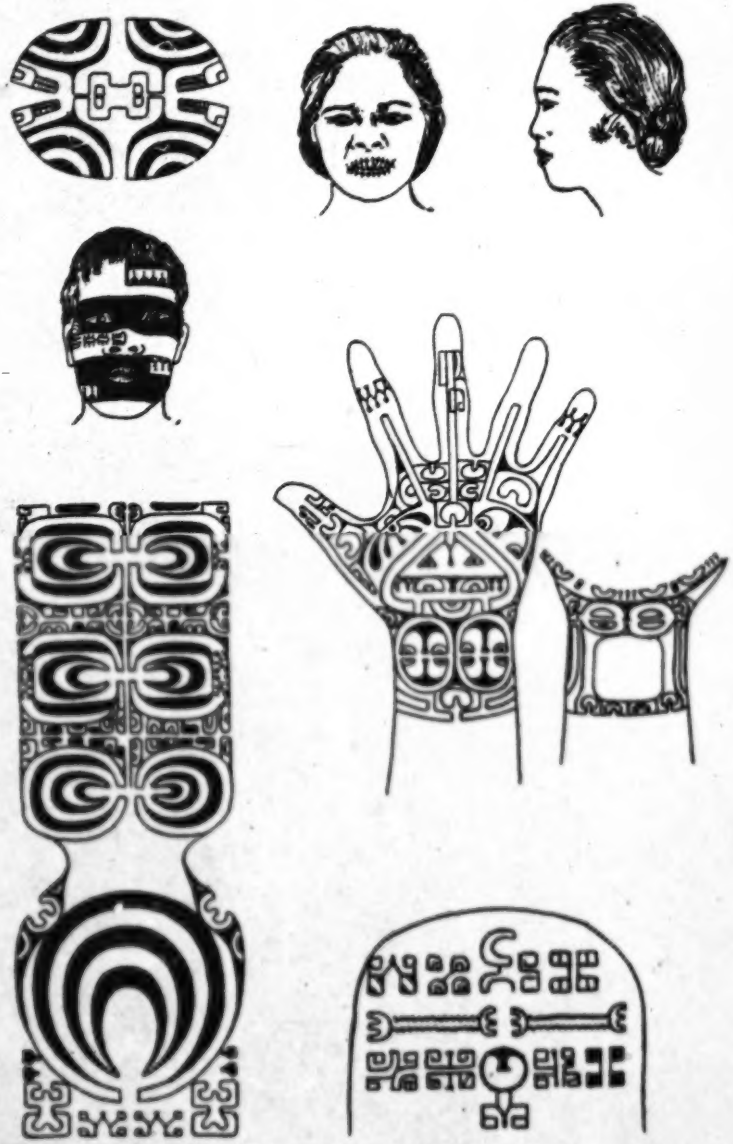

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 3]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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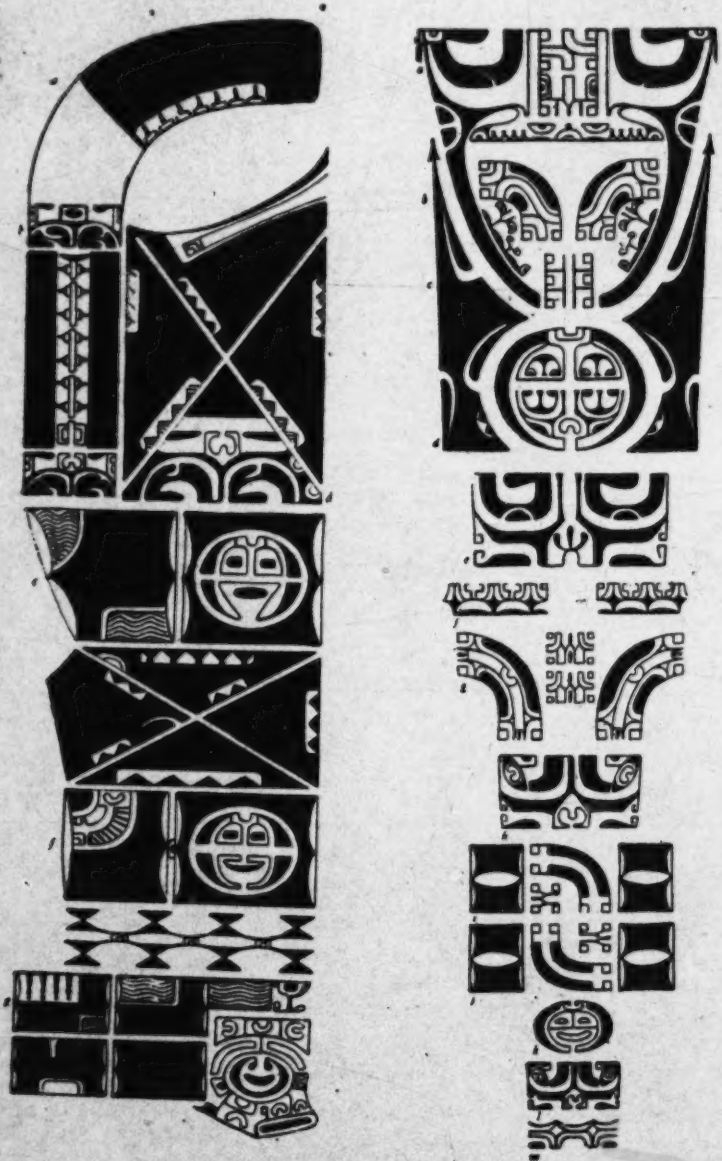

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 4]

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

with high hopes, many stories, and none for the good of the natives.

The Adelantado said to the Vicar and Chaplain that they were to chant the "*Te Deum laudamus*" with all the people on their knees, and that they should give thanks to God for the mercy of sighting land. This was done with great devotion.

On the following day, with doubt whether that island was inhabited, the ships were steered to the south of it, and very near the coast. From a point under a peaked hill towards the eastern end, there came out seventy small canoes, not all the same size, made of one piece of wood, with outriggers of cane on each side, after the manner of the gunwales of galleys, which reach to the water on which they press to prevent the canoe from capsizing, and all their paddles rowing. The least number they had in a canoe was three, the greatest ten, some swimming, and others hanging on—altogether, four hundred natives, almost white, and of very graceful shape, well-formed, robust, good legs and feet, hands with long fingers; good eyes, mouth, and teeth, and the same with the other features. Their skin was clear, showing them to be a strong and healthy race, and indeed robust. They all came naked, without any part covered; their faces and bodies in patterns of a blue colour, painted with fish and other patterns. Their hair was like that of women, very long and loose, some had it twisted, and they themselves gave it turns. Many of them were ruddy. They had beautiful youths who, for a people barbarous and naked, it was certainly pleasant to see; and they had much cause to praise their Creator.

Among them there was a boy, who appeared to be about ten years of age.[1] He came rowing in a canoe with

[1] Suarez de Figueroa says it was a girl.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

we sighted an island, to which the General gave the name of Magdalena, and from a port in it there came forth about seventy canoes, in each of which came three men, in some more in others less. Others came swimming, and others on logs: they were more than four hundred natives, white, and of very agreeable appearance, tall and strong, large limbed, and so well made that they had greatly the advantage over us; with handsome teeth, eyes and mouth, hands and feet, and most beautiful flowing hair, and many of them very fair. Amongst them were most beautiful youths; they were entirely naked, without covering on any part, and all had their bodies, legs, and arms, and hands, and some of them their faces, marked after the manner of the Bisayas here: and indeed, for savage people, naked and of so little reason, at sight of them there was much cause to praise God who created them. Let this not be taken for exaggeration, for so it is. These people called us to go to their port, and we called to them from our flag-ship, and they went on board of her, a matter of forty of them; and we appeared to be men of less than the usual stature by the side of them; and amongst them there came one who was understood to be a palm taller than the tallest man of our fleet, although we had in the fleet men of more than regulation height. The General gave there to some of them shirts and other things, which they received with much pleasure, and danced after their fashion, and called to the others. The General was put out of temper at the liberties they took, because they were great thieves; and he ordered a cannon to be fired to frighten them; when they heard it they took to swimming, and all seized their arms, and sounding a conch, they threw a few stones, and threatened with their lances, for they had no other arms. From the ship they fired at them with arquebuses, and killed five or six, and they remained there. As our fleet sailed on we discovered three other islands. This

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

609 them the articles they had to sell, which consisted of hogs, plantains, bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, &c. &c.

After remaining with these people about two hours, I proceeded to a small cove, two miles to leeward, where were assembled about fifty male natives and three females. Some of the [301] men were highly ornamented with plumes of black feathers, large [291] gorgets similar to those we had before purchased, and a kind of cloak formed of white cloth, in appearance somewhat like paper. Each held in his hand a handsome white fan, and had large tufts of human hair bound round the wrist, their ancles and loins, with large white oval ornaments, apparently intended as false ears, and large shells and whales' teeth hung round their neck. They made altogether no inelegant appearance. They [304] were all highly tatooed, and supposing one of the best dressed among them to be the chief, I gave him to understand that our object was trade, and that we had come with the most friendly views, showing, at the same time, fish-hooks, iron-hoops and knives, which seemed to produce a general joy among them. They informed me that their chief, whom they called Othaûough [xxx] had not arrived, and in a few minutes afterwards, pointed out to [291] me an old man, who approached entirely naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth about his loins, and a small fillet of palm leaves about his temples. This they told me was their chief: and on his addressing a few words to them, they threw by their arms and ornaments, and plunged into the water to gain the boat. I gave to each a small present, but they had no article to offer in return but their women; and as two of them were not more than sixteen years of age, and both handsome, they no doubt considered them the most acceptable present they could offer us.

142 The men of this island are remarkably handsome; of large
304 stature and well proportioned: they possess every variety of countenance and feature, and a great difference is observable in the colour of the skin, which for the most part is of a copper colour. But some are as fair as the generality of working white people much exposed to the sun of a warm climate. The old men (but particularly the chiefs) are entirely black. This is owing entirely to the practice of tattooing, with which they are entirely covered, and it requires a close inspection to perceive that the blackness of their skin is owing to this cause. On a minute examination, may be traced innumerable lines, curved, straight, and irregular, drawn with the utmost correctness, taste, and symmetry, and yet apparently without order, or any determined plan. The young men, the fairness of whose skin is contrasted by the ornaments of tattooing, certainly have, at first sight, a more handsome appearance than those entirely covered

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

with it; and in a short time we are induced to think that tattooing is as necessary an ornament for a native of those islands as clothing is for an European.

The young girls, which we had an opportunity of seeing, were handsome and well formed; their skins were remarkably soft and smooth, and their complexions no darker than many brunettes in America, celebrated for their beauty. Their modesty was more evident than that of the women of any place we had visited since leaving our own country; and if they suffered themselves (although with apparent timidity and reluctance) to be presented naked to strangers, may it not be in compliance with a custom, which taught them to sacrifice to hospitality all that is most estimable.

The canoes are generally about forty feet in length, thirteen inches wide, and eighteen inches deep. They are formed of many pieces of the bread-fruit tree, cut into the form of planks, and sewed together with the fibres of the outside shell of the cocoa-nut. The seams are covered inside and out with strips of bamboo, sewed to the edge of each plank, to keep in a stuffing of oakum, made of the cocoa-nut shell also, which does not prevent them from leaking sufficiently to give constant employment to one or two persons to bail the water out. The keel consists of one piece, which runs through the whole length, is hollowed out in the form of a canoe, and seems to stiffen the whole vessel, and keep it straight. Three pieces of thin plank, placed in the manner of partitions, divide the interior into four parts, and perform the office of timbers to keep the vessel from separating or closing together. Out-riggers from the bow, middle and stern, with a long piece of light wood secured to the extremity of each, keep them from upsetting, which, from their narrowness, would frequently happen were it not for this contrivance. The ornamental part consists of a flat prow, which projects about two feet, and is rudely carved on the upper surface, to represent the head of some animal. Sometimes there is attached to it a small board, supported by a rudely carved figure of a man. From the stern is a slender projection of six or eight feet in length, and in the form of a sleigh runner, or the forepart of a Holland skate. Their paddles are very neatly made, of a hard black wood highly polished. Their handles are slender, the blades of an oval form, broadest toward the lower part, and terminating in a point like a hawk's bill. They were all without sails, and did not appear to be managed with much skill or dexterity.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them,
302 with a shark's tooth, or shells, but now most commonly with a piece of iron hoop ground down to so sharp an edge as to remove the hair without giving much pain. The beard of the young men, and the hair under the arms of both men and women, is plucked out by means of shells, and there are certain other parts of the body where the females pay as little respect to the works of nature. The females at times, on what occasion I do not know, shave their heads close; but I am induced to believe such occasions are rare, as some wear their hair long, some cut short, and some cropped close, while others are close shaved. They have such varieties in wearing their hair, that I could not discover any fashion which seemed to prevail over the others, except among the young men, to which class it seemed wholly confined. Their custom is to put it up in two knots, one on each side of the head, and they are secured with white strips of cloth, with a degree of neatness and taste which might defy the art of our best head-dressers to equal. The old men wear it sometimes cut short, sometimes the head is shaved, and they occasionally have their heads entirely shaved, except one lock on the crown, which is worn loose or put up in a knot. But this latter mode of wearing the hair is only adopted by them when they have a solemn vow, as to revenge the death of some near relation, &c. In such case the lock is never cut off until they have fulfilled their promise. Besides the shark's tooth and iron hoop razors, they make use of a brand of fire to singe off, and shells as tweezers to pluck out the beard and hair on different parts of the body.

● 304 Tattooing is performed by means of a machine made of bone, something like a comb, with the teeth only on one side. The
[386] points of the teeth are rubbed with a black paint, made of burnt cocoa-nut shell ground to powder, and mixed with water. This is struck into the flesh by means of a heavy piece of wood, which serves the purpose of a hammer. The operation is extremely painful, and streams of blood follow every blow, yet pride induces them to bear this torture, and they even suffer themselves to be tied down while it is performing, in order that their agony may not interrupt the operator. The men commence tattooing as soon as they are able to bear the pain; generally at the age of eighteen or nineteen, and are rarely completely tattooed until they arrive at the age of thirty-five. The women begin about the same age; but have only their legs, arms, and hands tattooed, which is done with extraordinary neatness and delicacy. Some slight lines are drawn across their lips. It is also the practice with some to have the inside of their lips tattooed, but the object of this ornament I could never find out, as it is never seen unless they turn out their lips to show it. Every tribe in the island, I observed, was tattooed after a different fashion, and I was in-

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

formed that every line had its meaning, and gave to the bearer certain privileges at their feasts. This practice of tattooing sometimes occasions sores which fester, and are several weeks before they heal; it however never produces any serious consequences, or leaves any scars behind. 304

Their implements for the manufacture of cloths consist only of a beater and a smooth log. They are both of that kind of hard wood of which the war clubs are made. The beater is about eighteen inches in length, one end of which is rounded for the handle, the rest is squared, and slightly grooved the length of the square. The whole operation of making the cloth consists in beating the bark out on the log to the size required, keeping it wet and gently stretched with one hand, while the other is employed with the beater. This employment is left to the old women, who will make three outer garments or cahoos in the course of a day. The cloth is remarkably neat and regular, nearly as strong as fine cotton or linen, but will not bear washing more than once. It is worn about a week before washing; after being washed it is beat out again to give them a gloss and strength. Thus a woman, with moderate labour, will in one day make for herself outer garments to last her six weeks. If the garment should be torn in wearing, or by any accident, it is only necessary to wet the edges of the rent, and gently beat the parts together. They are entirely unacquainted with the use of the needle; this simple mode of repairing their dresses does not require it, nor is it requisite in their formation, as each part of their clothing consists of square pieces. 287 296

Their coffins are dug out of a solid piece of white wood, in the manner of a trough; the size is just sufficient to cram the body in, and it is polished and otherwise finished in a style which proves they pay great respect to the remains of their friends. When a person dies, the body is deposited in a coffin, and a stage erected, either in a house vacated for the purpose, in which the coffin is placed, or a small house of sufficient size to contain the coffin is built in front of a *tabbooed* house, on the platform of stones, in which the coffin is deposited. The former is practised with the bodies of women, the latter with those of men; guardians are appointed to sleep near and protect them. When the flesh is mouldered from the bones, they are, as I have been informed, carefully cleansed: some are kept for relics, and some are deposited in the morais. 164

Their fans, of which they are very careful, are made with surprising neatness, and consist of a curious piece of mat work, of a semi-circular form, attached to a handle, generally representing four figures of their gods, two above and two below, squatting back to back. The fans are made of a stiff kind of grass, or 293

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. 10th. might have been filled in a very short time. At day-break we reached the south end of Noocahiva; but as the wind blew from the south-west, we tacked about. The bay, from which the canoes had come out the day before, is situated on the east side of the island, and is pretty large. The islanders did all they could to persuade us to stop in this quarter; but, as it was completely exposed to the easterly winds, I could not comply with their request. At eight in the morning the wind shifted to the north-east; and, as the weather cleared up a little, I made for the shore: and at nine, to our equal joy and surprise, a jolly-boat was seen coming to us from the Nadejda. Having been separated nearly seven weeks from our friends, the pleasure we felt, on hearing they were all in good health and spirits, can hardly be expressed.

At noon we entered the long-desired bay of Taiohaia; but, the wind failing, we were obliged to warp the ship to the anchoring place. While this was doing, I went on board the Nadejda to pay my respects to captain Krusenstern, with whom I found the king of the bay and a great number of islanders, who were entirely naked. His majesty differed in no respect from his subjects, except that his body was more punctured or tatooed. I had the good fortune to please the king at first sight; he called me *Too*, and promised to pay me a visit as soon as possible. There were also on board the Nadejda a Frenchman and an Englishman, who, having resided several years in these islands, were extremely useful to us, as will be seen hereafter.

Returning on board my ship, I found the king already

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

161 My endeavours to ascertain with accuracy the population of the island were fruitless: from comparing, however, Roberts's account with what I could observe myself, I judged that the south side of it contained about four thousand inhabitants. 1804. May.

142 The natives are a handsome and well-made people; the men especially, who are tall and strong-limbed. The commonalty are of a dark complexion, with straight black hair. The nobility are much fairer.

304 Tatooing is so much in fashion here, that there is not an individual without some marks of it. Many were covered all over with different figures, some of which displayed much taste. The king, however, surpassed all his subjects in this kind of embellishment. His body was so completely figured, that scarcely the smallest spot of the natural colour of his skin could be perceived. To be thus perfectly tatooed, is a business of great [465] expense; the masters of the art expecting to be paid handsomely for their work. The practice of tatooing appeared to me very ridiculous at first; but when accustomed to it, those who had the most figures I thought the most comely. It is astonishing that women, who are in all countries so fond of beautifying their persons, do not tatoo themselves here; except with a few lines on the lips, round the perforation in the ears, and on the hands.

291 There is hardly any clothing worn by these people. The men 304 have sometimes a sort of towel round the waist, but in general they go quite naked. Mr. Langsdorff has said, that circumcision is universal among them. So far from this being the case,

6: Lisianasky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. I observed instances of the prepuce being drawn forward over the glans and tied with a string, the ends of which hung down about four inches. To this string much value seemed to be attached; for it happened that the king's brother, in coming on board my ship, had the misfortune to lose it, and his anxiety upon the occasion was extreme. As he stepped on the gangway, he eagerly covered the untied part with his hands, and made earnest signs for a piece of rope-yarn; till he had received which, and restored the part to its previous state, he appeared as if incapable of moving from the spot where the accident happened. 291 [304]

The women are more decent, as to clothing, than the men. When full-dressed, they are wrapped in a kind of cloth of their own making, which is fastened round the waist, and then folded over the shoulders, so as to leave one only or both breasts uncovered. In general, however, nothing is hidden but the part which nature forbids them to expose; and so tenacious are they of the covering to this part, that the most salacious will not consent to take it off.

The men wear their hair in different forms. Some cut it quite close, and shave a little space upwards from behind; others shave half the head lengthwise, leaving the hair long on the other half; and others again shave off all the hair, except a tuft on each side, which is twisted into the shape of horns. Some daub themselves over with yellow paint only, and others with cocoa-nut oil and yellow paint mixed. They all wear ear-rings and necklaces. The necklaces are made of shells or wood, and sometimes of the teeth of swine, or the porpoise: those made of 302 301 302

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

be worn with the knot either on the breast or on one shoulder. According to Handy the festive dress of the women consisted of a strip of tapa as much as thirty or forty meters long which was wrapped round and round the wearer, giving an effect not unlike an European hoop skirt. In some cases it was doubled and plaited around a hoop which hung from the hips. This custom of wearing great quantities of tapa has also been described from Hawaii and the Society Islands. It is rather interesting that the poncho-like upper garment worn in the Society Islands seems to have been unknown in the Marquesas.

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TATTOOING

The Marquesans surpassed all other Polynesians in the excellence and extent of their tattooing. In men the entire person, even to the crown of the head, was covered with intricate and beautiful designs. Women were tattooed on the arms, legs and shoulders, but not on the body. The facial tattooing of women was limited to a series of short lines on the lips and a small figure behind the lobe of the ear. The present natives deny that the genitals were tattooed, but a drawing in the prospectus of Von den Steinen's book on Marquesan art indicates that this was sometimes done on women.

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The tattooing was done with bone combs.

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The larger combs were made from the bones of revenge victims, *keaua*, the smaller combs of bird bones. In Hiva Oa at least smaller tattooing combs were made from the bones of tapu birds caught on Fatu Huku. The combs are roughly triangular in outline, with rounded apexes and slightly convex edges. Unfinished specimens show that they were shaped and ground to a sharp edge before the teeth were cut. The cutting of the teeth is said to have been done with a sliver of bamboo. The largest comb collected is about 3 inches long and ½ inch wide at the base, with a maximum width of about ½ inch, and a thickness of 1/16th of an inch. The smallest, made of bird bone, is about 2½ inches long, with a base width of 1/10 of an inch and a maximum width of about 1/5 of an inch. The teeth range in length from 1/8 to 1/5 of an inch and vary in number from 3 to 18, according to the width of the comb. The lower edge of several of the combs is convex rather than straight so that the incisions made must have been deepest in the middle. This is not a constant feature and was probably accidental. The larger combs were used to fill solid space in the designs, the smaller, in working out curves and details. (See Pl. LXXV, *A*, 2.)

According to informants in Hiva Oa, the combs were provided with temporary handles made from joints of upland reed, in which small transverse slots were cut for the insertion of the upper end of the comb. When not in use the handles were discarded and the combs stored in short joints of bamboo (Pl. LXXV, *A*, 3). The complete implement looked like a miniature adz from four to six inches long. In Nuka Hiva a more permanent form of handle seems to have been used, the blade being attached by ornamental lashings of very thin sennit.

The pigment used in tattooing was made from soot or from pulverized charcoal, mixed with water to form a thick ink.

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In making the soot pigment, which was considered the best, a flat water-worn stone was propped up on three other stones in such a way as to leave a small space beneath it. Three strings of candle nuts, strung on sennit, were then tied together in a bunch, lit, and thrust under

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 386 the flat stone. There were twenty nuts in each string, although the reason for this was unknown to the informant. The soot which collected on the under side of the flat stone was scraped off and packed in a small coconut shell (Pl. LXXV, *A*, 1). To make the charcoal pigment, coconut charcoal was pulverized with a small stone pounder. For this purpose smooth circular pits, common in large stones near villages, are said by natives to have been used as mortars. These pits are so numerous, however, that they must have been used for other purposes as well.

304 In tattooing, the mounted comb was held in the right hand, and a tapping stick of *toa* wood, about one foot long, in the left. A tapa rag was wrapped around the last two fingers of the right hand. The designs to be tattooed were usually drawn on the body in charcoal, but the most experienced artists frequently worked free hand. The comb was dipped in the ink and driven into the skin by a sharp blow from the tapping stick, the coloring matter running down the teeth into the wound. After each stroke the blood was wiped away with the rag.

The body was tattooed in sections, three days being allowed between operations for the healing of the wound. The texture of the skin does not seem to have been greatly altered by the operation, and flesh carving of the sort done by the Maori was unknown. The process was a long and painful one.

The many social and ceremonial observances connected with the tattooing of men, and especially of chiefs' sons, are described by Handy (32). A discussion of the practice of tattooing and of the designs used has been published by Willowdean C. Handy (32 *a*).

MUTILATIONS

The bodily mutilations practiced by the Marquesans were circumcision (32), the piercing of the ears and depilation.

The natives of both sexes pierced the ears for the attachment of ornaments. The operation was performed with a special awl-like instrument. The favorite material for these instruments was human bone, but bird bone and even tortoise shell were sometimes used. Practically all ear piercers were carved at the upper end, the decorations consisting for the most part of conventionalized human faces or figures. (See Pl. LXXV, *B*.) Many specimens have a loop of sennit permanently attached to the upper end, while almost all are drilled for suspension. Such piercers were treasured in families as heirlooms, but seem to have no religious significance.

The ear aperture was somewhat larger than in pierced European ears, being ¼ to ½ of an inch in diameter, but dilation of the ear lobe does not seem to have been practiced. Some of the men's ear ornaments strongly suggest ear plugs, however, and it is possible that dilation of the ear lobe, common in Melanesia, was at one time practiced in the Marquesas. If so, it had become obsolete before the historic period, as it is not mentioned by any of the early writers.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

LOCAL DIFFERENCES IN MATERIAL CULTURE

Although the material culture of the Marquesas seems to have been nearly uniform, a few local differences are known to have existed. Most of these differences seem to have consisted in a greater or less stressing of features common to the whole culture rather than in a clear-cut absence or presence of traits. In view of the trade and intercourse which are known to have existed in the group even in prehistoric times the survival of such differences seems to indicate that at some former time the local distinctions were still more pronounced. It is difficult at the present time to establish the extent of the local variation. The culture as a whole has broken down under European contact, and since the intertribal wars have ceased there has been a considerable movement of the native population. Ua Huka, in particular, is at present inhabited chiefly by persons born in other parts of the group.

For convenience of reference the local differences in materials and practice may be summarized as follows:

HOUSES

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
House Platforms	Large and well built	Small and less well built	Small and low
	Wide, some square	Long and narrow	Long and narrow
	Much cut stone	Cut stone rare	No cut stone
	Ornamental masonry	No ornamental masonry	No ornamental masonry
Pit for tapu objects	Common	Absent	Absent
Ridge Pole	Round	Round or many sided	(?)
Front Stringer	Round or square	Square or L shaped	Square or L shaped
Pitch of rear roof	Very steep	Less steep	(?)
Ornamental lashings	Extensively used	On roof only	(?)
Carved house posts	Rare or absent	Normal	Common
Ornamental stone images	Not used	Uncommon	Not used
Stone back rests	Rare or absent	Common	
Unique features of houses	Bamboo partitions	One grass house	
Opu type of popoi pounder	Not used	Common	Rare
Salt pounder	Rare	Not used	Not used
Shape of popoi trough	Short and broad	Long and narrow	Long and narrow

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
Tapa	Combined ute and breadfruit used (rare)	Combined ute and breadfruit not used	(?)
Tattooing	Designs predominantly angular, small naturalistic figures	Designs predominantly curvilinear, no naturalistic figures	Same as Hiva Oa
Tattooing Implements	Comb sometimes fixed permanently in handle	Comb not fixed in handle	Comb not fixed in handle
Taavaha	Common	Less common	(?)
Incrusted head ornament	Present	Not recorded	Not recorded
Paekaha	Not made	Common	Common

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COMPARATIVE TABLE MATERIAL CULTURE--Continued

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

	MARQUESAS	NEW ZEALAND	HAWAII	SOCIETY ISLANDS	SAMOA	TONGA
Tattooing	Men completely tattooed; women on legs, arms and lips	Men tattooed on face and thighs, body tattoo rare; women on lips and chin	Men sometimes completely tattooed except face	Men tattooed on body and limbs but not on face; women on lower leg and arms, also a girdle	Men tattooed waist to knee; women on arms and legs	Like Samoa
Tapa making	Stone, hollow wooden and solid wooden anvils; square and round beaters, grooves but no water marks	Obsolete, no data on manufacture	Hollow wooden anvil, square and round beater, beaters with water marks or grooves	Hollow wooden anvil; square beater with water marks on one or two sides, other sides grooved	Smooth log, not hollowed, square beater, grooved on three sides, no water marks	Like Samoa
Tapa decoration	Dyed yellow	----------	Painted, stamped with bamboo stamps or flowers (rare)	Free hand painting, stamped with flowers or leaves	Free hand painting and painting over carved block	Free hand painting and painting over carved block
Feather work	Feathers pasted on bare; no feather cloaks	Feathers caught into woven fabric; feather cloaks important	Feathers caught into netted fabric; feather cloaks important	Feathers caught into netted fabric; no feather cloaks	Woven in edges of fine mats	No data
Necklaces of many strands of braided hair	Important	Not used	Important, part of chief's insignia	Turban of many strands of braided hair, no necklace	Not used	Not used
Fans	Highly decorated, carried by chiefs	No data	Highly decorated fans sometimes used by chiefs	Elaborate but not ceremonial	Elaborate but not ceremonial	Elaborate but not ceremonial
Fly flap	Not used	Not used	Elaborately decorated feather flaps part of chief's insignia	Elaborately carved, ceremonial (?)	Carried by speaker chiefs	Common, ceremonial (?)

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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IMPLEMENTS FOR PERSONAL ORNAMENTATION: *A*, TATTOOING INSTRUMENTS—(1) OCCIDENT CUP CONTAINING PIGMENT, (2) COMB OF HUMAN AND BIRD BONE, (3) BAMBOO BOX IN WHICH COMBS ARE KEPT; *B*, EAR PIERCING OF BONE AND TORTOISE SHELL.

[end plate 36]

8: Handy
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[For information on tattooing see category 116, pp. 3-32, plates 1-38.]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The combinations of designs on the *pakea* are neither numerous nor very complex. There are examples of diamonds with herring-bone on either side of the diamond, herring-bone with a longitudinal groove running down the center, staggared crosses ending in four combs, and four-quarter ovals placed in a square space so that the curved surfaces nearly meet, but leave a small, plain cross in the center.

Tattoo Designs[2]

The Marquesans arranged the tattoo designs upon the body for the most part in horizontal bands with many longitudinal and diagonal divisions in much the fashion followed in wood carving. Some of these bands are of solid color; others are split up into small, almost minute, designs. Large rectangular, triangular, circular, oval, and semi-oval units filled with smaller designs stand out prominently.

The design elements themselves are the same as those used in wood carving with one or two additions and a few subtractions. One tattoo design not used in carving is a representation of a small fish of unidentifiable species (Pl. xvi, *B*, *b*): another is a conventionalized bird (Pl. xvi, *B*, *c*). Among the design elements and motifs found in tattooing are straight and curved lines ending in dots, lines that dovetail into each other such as are found on some house posts (Pl. ii, *b*), double scolloped lines, zigzags, wavy lines, fretwork, crosshatching, herring-bone, chevrons, V's, concentric V's, single and concentric rectangles, segments of rectangles, the block design (Pl. xvi, *A*, *b*), rows of plain triangles, triangles filled with lines parallel to one side, interlocking triangles, and double triangles with apexes meeting to produce a form like an hourglass (Pl. xvi, *B*, *d*).

The oval used in tattooing is more nearly a true oval than is the oval used in carving. It is used singly or in concentric series, both plain and pierced, and in under-arm tattooing a series of two pierced and connected ovals is employed. Some circles are plain, others have a single dot in the center, and still others are arranged in concentric series or filled with *pakea*, semi-ovals, radiating lines, double spirals, or faces (*mata*). Segments of circles, crude curvilinear and better angular spirals, and irregular curves are used here and there to fill in space. A face illustrated by Willowdean C. Handy (18, Pl. v, fig. 7) is decorated with large, well-formed curvilinear spirals which a native informant described as an ancient design used by all warriors. This same tattoo design is common in Melanesia and its use in the Marquesas suggests some former cultural

[2] This discussion of Marquesan tattoo designs is based largely on drawings by Willowdean C. Handy (18).

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

connection. It is also interesting to inquire why the use of this design has not persisted.

One form of *mata* deserves special attention. Its convention is confined to tattooing and is strikingly different from the tiki faces used in carving. The design is not so stereotyped as the tikis and strongly suggests the Jack-o'-lantern faces made by children on Hallowe'en. The eyes are represented by large ovals or small segments of concentric circles. The ears are rarely shown, the nose is commonly omitted, and some figures have no mouth, but this organ is usually emphasized and represented by a wide, curved line so that the whole face, while grotesque, is also pleasing and comical (Pl. XVI, *B*, *f*, *g*). Many circles contain two such *mata* opposite each other.

Mata of the same type as those employed in wood carving are also common in tattooing as are likewise the *kaake* and many forms of the *pokaa* (fig. 1, *a*, *c*, *k*). It should be noted that the *kaake* used in tattooing is not strictly limited to the elbow-shaped design found in wood carving. Curved forms and straight bands, but with the characteristic *kaake* fill, are found in tattooing. One example of the curved type of comb design was also noted.

A number of conventionalized representations of natural objects find place in tattooing. Among these the insect designs hold first place. Only one example each of a lizard, a bird (Pl. XVI, *B*, *c*), and a fish (Pl. XVI, *B*, *b*) was noted. No true representations of plant life were found; although small circular units filled with curved lines, the convex sides nearly touching in the center of the circle (Pl. XVI, *B*, *e*), and similar units filled with long, slender ovals with short transverse bars at the outer edge (Pl. XVI, *B*, *a*) may have been intended for floral designs. There are also a few examples of the palm leaf design used in wood carving.

Tattoo patterns include a great many conventionalized designs representing human beings. Some of them represent the head by a large dot; others use a triangle or a straight bar. The shoulders and arms are represented by a short, horizontal line with a vertical line drawn down from both ends, and in a few figures by curved lines (Pl. XVII, *d*). In some of these designs it is impossible to tell whether the figure is facing up or down, as for example the designs in Plate XVII, *d*, 5-7, which may be turned upside down and still resemble human forms. A very characteristic convention is to represent the arms as upraised. In such figures the head is commonly omitted. In a great many figures the arms and legs terminate in square blocks. Plate XVII, *e* and *g* shows examples of designs which somewhat resemble petroglyphs. Several such naturalistic

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

figures in various poses that may well have pictographic significance are shown by Mrs. Handy (18, Pl. xv, *C*).[1]

SUMMARY

Marquesan designs may be grouped roughly into three classes: House post designs, which are predominantly angular geometric; bowl designs which are predominantly curvilinear; and tattoo designs.

Designs for house posts were extensively used on recent canoe models and were probably used on ancient canoes. The table of design elements (pp. 32-34) shows that bowl designs make use of the largest number of design elements and motifs. They even include most of the house post designs although in subordinate positions. The most important bowl designs not found on house posts are the hook scroll, curvilinear spirals, small tiki faces, floral designs, and representations of insects. The few angular spirals seen on house posts are not typical, but this design is important in bowl decoration. *Mata, kaake,* and pierced ovals are as characteristically bowl designs as tattoo designs. Bowl designs have been freely used in the decoration of canoe paddles, war clubs, treasure boxes, chisel handles, stilts and *pakea.*

The designs of ornamental sennit lashings extensively used in the Marquesas, Tonga, and Samoa are similar to those carved on Marquesan house posts. It seems probable that these designs were originally worked out in the sennit lashings and that in the Marquesas they were later copied in wood carving.

The tiki figure has gone through an extensive process of conventionalization, many stages of which are visible in the Marquesan carving. There is a gradual degeneration of design from the complete tiki figure carved in the full round, represented by the large wooden and stone idols and by a few wooden house posts, to tiki figures representing only part of the body, usually the upper half, as found on small bone ornaments. The next step is to omit the body entirely and show only the face which in turn is still further reduced, leaving out one facial feature after another until only the eyes or eyes with ears attached remain. It should not be inferred that the highly conventionalized forms are now used to the exclusion of the more complete tikis. The design is chosen to fit the object and the space to be decorated, but there are far more tiki faces than full tiki figures and more incomplete tiki faces than complete ones.

The *mata* is closely related to the tiki face and may have been derived from it. *Mata* are much more in evidence on canoe models and canoe paddles than on war clubs and bowls; the opposite relation holds for tiki

[1] [See 8: Handy, this file.—Analyst]

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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261 theft; members of the same family would steal food from one another, but nothing else. The high value placed on food was clearly shown in social observances. Every form of social advancement was linked with some ceremony involving a feast. The natives took delight and pride in the amount of food produced at these feasts, sheer bulk being more important than the delicacy of cooking or preparation. Taboos would be placed on perhaps two of the staple foods, so that no one could eat them for months, and there would be a great accumulation by the time the taboo was removed for the feast. The family would starve themselves for weeks in order to fatten the pigs for the event. Even tribal wars were suspended when a feast was imminent. Neighboring tribes would be formally invited to join the festivities. An enemy never attacked if he knew a feast was [721] in preparation. After the feast, however, when all were beginning to suffer from indigestion, fights were very likely to flare up, and the visiting tribe often had to run for home.

753 774 The Marquesans had the belief, common to many primitive peoples, that certain types of illness were caused by the absence of the soul. Their method of restoring the lost soul was another testimonial to the importance of food in this culture. The [756] *tuhunga* (medicine man) built a small house, in front of which he placed food saying, "Soul, this is for you." The soul, unable to resist the lure of food, returned to the house and was snatched by the waiting *tuhunga* and returned to its proper place. He usually had many scratches to show for his struggle with the lost soul.

32 There was plenty of timber and bamboo on the islands, but stone suitable for implements was irregularly distributed. The Marquesans' material culture was extremely rich, perhaps the richest in the Polynesian area, characterized by a tremendous amount of decoration and elaboration of detail. A primitive craftsman, carpenter, or canoe maker would have half a dozen adzes, each for a special use. A tattooer would have in his kit [304] ten or fifteen bone combs of different sizes for making various designs.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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868 were instructed in chants and genealogies by the ceremonial priests; during the teaching of the more esoteric lore, both teacher and pupil were under rigid taboos. There was also an informal kind of teaching by the ceremonial priests. The young people would come to a priest in the evening and ask him to teach them a chant. He would ask them which one they wanted; the youngsters would name a chant. The priest would pull out [211] his string record, a series of knots tied in a long cord sometimes woven into a basket shape, the knots representing the stanzas of the chant. Girls and boys learned the chants together in this informal fashion. The boy, about the time he was tattooed, began to study to be a *tuhunga,* ceremonial priest, or a member of whatever profession he chose.

881 A small ceremony was held for girls at the time of their first menstruation. At this time the girls would go to a particular place long associated with the family line, where the ancestral spirits were supposed to come. First menstrual blood had to be buried in a sacred place to prevent loss of vitality in the girl. [304] There was no ceremony for boys at puberty, but at the age of ten or twelve, a superincision was made; that is, the foreskin was split along the top. This was a group operation including all boys who were old enough for it, not necessarily all members of the same gang. In the case of the eldest child of an important family, some slight ceremony attended the operation.

881 Girls were tattooed at about ten or twelve years of age, before 304 they became *kaioi.* Tattooing was not regarded as a puberty rite for either males or females. The Marquesans explained that they did not tattoo until after puberty because the process of growth would spoil the design of the tattooing. The girls were tattooed individually with no special rites, although a daughter of a chief or a rich household might be taken to a sacred place for the process. Women were tattooed from the waist down, and on the arms and hands, with a series of markings above and below the lips, and with a design behind the ear. The breasts, body, and back were left unmarked. A small feast was given after the tattooing of a chief's daughter, at which the girl danced

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on a raised platform in the *tohua* (tribal assembly place) to exhibit her new decorations.

The boys were tattooed in groups, with an eldest son of a chief or rich household acting as sponsor. The father would collect food in preparation for this event, and at a given signal the *kaioi* group to which the boy belonged would raid the father's house, carrying off all the food and occasionally other things, though as a rule the household carefully put away everything except the food. The father also had a special house built for the tattooing of his eldest son.

The tattooer started on the most important victim, tattooing a square foot at a time; before resuming the operation, four or five days were allowed to elapse for the skin to heal. During these days the tattooers worked on the other boys in the group so that they all were completed at about the same time. The extremely painful operation was done with little combs made of bird or human bone set in a handle. The instrument was tapped into the skin with an ironwood mallet, and then the pigment was rubbed on. There was profuse bleeding. The victim was allowed to yell as much as he liked under this operation, in fact he took pride in the noise he made and in the number of other *kaioi* required to hold him quiet so that the tattooer could work accurately.

A tattoo artist took great pride in his skill. No preliminary marks were made on the body to indicate the design. In learning the craft the novice would use bamboo cylinders as pattern boards to give him experience in throwing his curves properly, or he might induce some individual to let him practice on him. He had to pay a small fee for this, for if the work was poor it would be a social disability to the victim later on. The tattooers sang a chant as they worked; it was principally a repetition of the theme, "How beautiful this is going to look, how well I should be paid for such fine work."

The tattooing of the boys was a labor of some weeks, during which time the entire *kaioi* group was fed by the father of the principal boy. When his stores began to run out, the boys were

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fed by their own households. All male tattooing was extraordinarily complete, the entire body, even the eyelids, being covered with intricate patterns. The chief had more elaborate hand tattooing than ordinary men and his toes were decorated, too. There were various markings for the face which were probably of tribal significance. I once saw a man who had the crown of his head beneath his hair tattooed. It was not infrequent to have the mouth tattooed right up to the gums and on the tongue—not to mention more sensitive portions of the anatomy.

The first tattooing was done in the *kaioi* period, but when a man was about thirty, particularly if he was a great warrior, he would have himself gone over again, at which time all the blank spaces in the design were filled in. Tattoo designs came out indigo blue in the young and bluish green in older people so that old men were often completely green. Not to be tattooed was to be indecently naked.

When the tattooing was completed a feast was held at which the newly tattooed boys exhibited their decorations. The girls attended this ceremony also, and at the close of the festivities put on their own dance. Instead of dancing naked as usual, they wore for this occasion full pleated skirts, which they lifted during the final song to expose their genitals. However, all sexual play was prohibited at these feasts, the girl's gesture merely indicating that the end of the *kaioi* period had come and that it was now time for the young men to choose mates and settle down.

Girls were instructed in sexual matters from an early age, trained to swing their hips and walk in a provocative way, and to assume postural attitudes which were highly charged with sex. There was extreme development of erotic technique, both sexes taking genuine pride in their erotic skills, which they discussed without reservation. It was taken for granted that almost any chance meeting between young persons of opposite sexes would, unless they happened to be siblings, result in intercourse. The girls began their dances completely attired but finished in complete nudity, with the expected results. At the close of the feasts, particularly when visitors were present, there

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DESCRIPTION OF THE MARQUESANS

While we have many verbal descriptions of the Marquesans by travelers and writers, anthropometric data are extremely rare and confined almost wholly to the cranium. Information on stature was furnished by several of the early explorers of this region, but the conclusions are not always in accord. Deniker gives the average stature of 202 men as 174.3 centimeters. The cranial length-breadth index is given by the same author as 76.4 for thirty crania. Broca's figures for the same index are 75.0 for men and 78.2 for women.

Some of the larger of our craniometric publications have described Marquesan crania. Davis described 29 of them, the German catalog 5, the Godeffroy catalog 4, Welcker 16, and Le Batard 24. Le Batard gave also the principal head measurements of 2 persons. Von Luschan also described some Marquesan skeletal material. It is apparent that the present contribution of detailed observations on 84 men and 74 women can in no sense be considered a duplication of work already done.

The results of the seriation and averages are summarized in Tables II, III, and IV. Table II is given as a gauge of the homogeneity of the series. While a series of less than 100 does not lend itself to strict statistical analysis it should show some tendency to form a normal frequency distribution for a majority of characters, if we are dealing with a homogeneous group. But such is not the case. The bimodality encountered in the Tongan series in head length, face width, bigonial diameter, face height, and face index are here repeated in a much more marked form. The bimodality, multimodality or skew distribution extends to nearly every character. In the Marquesan series stature, span, minimum frontal diameter, nasal width, ear width, cephalic, facial and nasal indices show a bimodal tendency in both sexes. The other characters are bimodal in one sex and irregular, or multimodal in the other. Only one or two characters are unimodal and regular normal curves. This feature of the series is discussed on page 163.

The Marquesans are tall, with long, wide head, a high, wide face, and a high, wide nose. All of the dimensions of the head and body are large, indicating their massive size. They are on the verge of brachycephaly. But one cannot be sure that the heads are wholly undeformed. Handy says that artificial molding of the head seems to have been universally practiced in the following way: mothers would run the hand up and back across the infant's head, pressing down with the palm and in with the fingers in a way that would tend to make the forehead more sloping, the frontal region narrower, and the back of the head somewhat elevated

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304 or peaked. There is no evidence of any other kind of wrapping or deformation. The effects of this treatment of infants are very evident in the photographs, particularly in the foreheads of elderly men. The practice is identical with that in [17] Hawaii. It is difficult to say just how much it would affect the cephalic index if at all. Handy also states that the nose was flattened during infancy.

/26 cont./
rationale. Certain deviate individuals have refused to undergo circumcision, possibly /27/ as a concession to campaigns carried on by some French missionaries to stamp out the practice. One entire family in Taiohae has traditionally refused to be circumcised. Many males of this family have ultimately yielded to intense social pressure from their male friends, and also from their wives, being circumcised finally in their late twenties. Much of this pressure is exerted in the form of constant oblique joking about circumcision and people who are unclean. In the case of the wives, however, more direct pressure can be exerted. Their requests are usually in the form: "Why aren't you like other men?"

Circumcision in the Marquesas involves a very loose approximation to the true meaning of the term, for the operation involves a longitudinal incision through the foreskin on the dorsal aspect of the glans penis (po'ama).

A group of boys are gathered together and circumcised at one time by an individual who specializes in this operation. It is often attempted to have a relative of the parents generation perform the operation. No attempt is made to anesthetize the locale of the incision. The foreskin is stretched tightly over a slip of bamboo which has been inserted between it and the glans, while the incision is made with a razor blade or knife. Recently, scissors have come into vogue in Taiohae, as it is said that they make a much cleaner incision. In the aboriginal past, incisions were made with bamboo knives.

/28/ After circumcision, a medicinal preparation is applied to speed healing of the incision and prevent infection. This consists of the astringent juice of the candle-nut tree bark ('ama = A. trilobita) and the leaves of the kaka'a hue (Diellia Brownii). (Two other plants are also used but we could not identify them.) This is applied daily after bathing, at which time the area around the wound is carefully cleaned; then the penis is placed with the dorsal side against a sun-heated stream boulder until it is dried. The heat from the stream boulder is believed to have a beneficial effect on the healing process.

/28 cont./ 304●

Each boy keeps the sliver of bamboo over which the foreskin was stretched for the incision. Should the slip be lost or be stolen by another and be thrown into mud or a stream, early impotency will result for the original owner of the slip. [833] The slip should be carefully buried upright in dry ground in an area where many women will walk over it. Obviously, as one informant stated, the best place to "bury the bamboo" is in the churchyard where all the girls congregate several times weekly. A boy knows when a girl has been standing [831] above his bamboo, for an erection follows particularly quickly upon the sight of that girl. According to an informant, the churchyard in one of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva is filled with buried bamboo slips of the last several generations, all [797] placed without missionary knowledge.

At present, after a boy has been circumcised, he may 836 be considered to possess the social seal of approval to begin 881 heterosexual activities in /29/ earnest. It is considered to 884 be a rather unbecoming precocity for boys to have intercourse before circumcision, although many of the late adolescent males will attempt to convince the outsider that they have done so.

There appears to be a great deal of anxiety among male 152 children regarding circumcision. Adults will often threaten 861 very young male children who are badly behaved by brandishing one of the ever-present butchering knives and gesturing toward the child's genitalia with the statement: "'Ena 'e kokoti 'au 'i to'o e moa!" (I'm going to hack your penis!) This threat usually produces striking results: the child seizes his genitalia bending over forward to protect them and backs away, at the point of tears if not actually screaming. A knife which I always carried was often mentioned as "the [123] white man's knife for circumcising children," which drew me involuntarily into the situation.

Girls generally begin their heterosexual relations much 836 earlier than do the boys in the Marquesas. Their relatively earlier sexual maturation and the fact that puberty for them is not marked by an obstacle such as circumcision makes their

/91 cont./ 114
sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; never- 826
theless, breasts are of relatively small importance when com- 832
pared with genital qualities.

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the 175
prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play 864
among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation [114]
was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), [838]
which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states
that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not
specific as to the practices involved.

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and 515
especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan 173
culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. [183]
Marquesan legends (Handy 1928) make frequent reference to
the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individ-
uals. Numerous references are also available to native [302]
cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were
used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S.
Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present 302
emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the 177
use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished con- [182]
siderably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics.
Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of [797]
'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to
be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. [831]
As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except [263]
in food, where it is used as a flavoring.

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas 182
bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. 304
In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together;
the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and
the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote
healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy,
pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism 881
and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving 182
seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious

/93 cont./
observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, the behavior may actually be a local development. It is doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes began heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates (p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the disparate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the complex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to

/94 cont./
ultimately produce a sexually pleasing adolescent girl. The use of cosmetics also appears to be a surviving remnant of an aboriginal girl's ceremony of which relatively little is known today. This lacuna in Marquesan ethnography is largely due to missionary efforts which were concentrated on stamping out all of the more outstanding and orgiastic ceremonies in the Marquesan native culture. Some information was obtained on ceremonies which were related in some way to puberty from informants on Nuku Hiva, in Hatiheu and Taipivai, two valleys which were formerly united in the historic period, at least, as a single tribe -- the Taipi.

/95/ According to informants, adolescent girls were kept at home and subjected to special treatment with the vaginal cosmetics described above, as well as a preparation for lightening skin color, made from the vine papa. Some tattooing may have been performed on girls of higher rank at this time. When the appropriate time arrived, the girls would be taken to the subtribal ceremonial center (tohua or koika) where they participated in ceremonies in which they exhibited themselves, their tattoo if any and submitted to a genital inspection. For the genital inspection they stood upon flat-topped boulders that were ranged along the sides of the rectangular ceremonial plazas. These boulders were called ke'a vehine po'otu or ke'a vehine haka (beautiful girl stone or dancing girl stone, respectively). These boulders are to be found on nearly every ceremonial plaza on Nuku Hiva. Although it is certain that they served other purposes beside genital inspection alone, this purpose seems to have loomed sufficiently large, hence the name attached.

In the genital inspection, if the labiae and mucus membrane lining of the vulva were pale and the pubic hair pliant and short, the girl was acceptable by Marquesan aesthetic standards. If, however, the labiae and membranes were of a ruddy color, then the girl was subjected to considerable derision, being insulted with the appellation of to'e, pa'a, ke hika -- "clitoris (like a) ripe anona squamosa."

/95 cont./

In the accounts of the informants, no information was given concerning the relative chronological order of this ceremony and menarche in the pubescent girls, nor was any mention made by the informants of /96/ the menarche ceremony described by Handy (1923, p. 94). It seems unlikely, therefore, that it had any direct or close relationship to puberty. The ceremony, as it is described, however, resembles Handy's descriptions of the tattooing festivals (ibid 221-222). Although these festivals were generally given in honor of males, girls participated in them, especially in the final festival in the sequence of three, normally following a tattooing. This was called ko'ika to'e haka -- clitoris dance festival -- and featured young girls dancing with their wrap-around skirts raised to expose their genitals.

A similar genital inspection or exhibition was held for young males after their circumcision had healed (Handy 1923).

Therefore, it seems probable that the ceremony report by my informants actually existed in the aboriginal past, and that the vaginal cosmetics used today are the only survivals of the extensive complex of traits involved in these puberty ceremonies. There is a possibility that the details recounted here may have been a local elaboration in the area of Nuku Hiva occupied by the Taipi tribe, but as Handy's information is mainly derived from Hiva'Oa, it is more likely that the same general ceremonies took place throughout the archipelago.

The position of the grandparent as a general mentor and especially an instructor of sexual techniques is reported by Linton for the aboriginal period, although Handy does not mention it.

Older informants claim that in the past, individuals of the grandparents' generation stood in a privileged type of rationship to grandchildren, /97/ in which much free banter was permitted, including conduct and speech that would have been judged disrespectful if it occurred between individuals having parent-child relationships. In the context of this privileged

/102 cont./ 182 74 883 571
skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture [114] contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans [648] who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts [797] [304] being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's.

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship 584 834 followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the 182 present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ [171] is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia.

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents 883 some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. 178 In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some [833] occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the [342] formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times.

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which 571 produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult 831 female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. 178 In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual